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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

ONCE again has our nation's birthday come and gone, once again have we celebrated it right heartily with noise and smoke. Some of us have conscientiously gone through the time-honored exercises handed down to us as inseparable from the day, exercises supposedly calculated to feed the fires of patriotism and impress upon the rising generation the connection between the day we celebrate so lightly with the burning of gunpowder, and that solemn day when our forefathers wrote themselves traitors in the eyes of King George, severed the bands of union that Great Britain was using for our bondage and gave birth to a new nation, did that which in the event of failure would have put the halter around their necks.

So we cause the immortal declaration of independence to be read while orators extol the virtues, the glories of the founders of the Republic. All this some of us feel in duty bound to go through on each recurring anniversary of the country's birth. But in candor we must admit that our people do not fall into the spirit of commemorating the nation's birthday with speech and song. Neither men nor boys care to have a day which they give

up to holiday-making marred by long-winded harangues, and on a day which they give over to enjoyment they will not take part in irksome exercises or listen to addresses commemorative of the country's birth. And because they do not is no evidence of a lack of patriotic sentiment. They much prefer to read at their leisure of the virtues, of the great part played by the patriots of 1776 and of the obligations we are under to them, than to infringe on their holiday-making to listen to the addresses of mediocre orators or readings of the declaration of independence.

It may be that as a people we fail to appreciate as we should the work of the founders of the Republic. It may be that we do not accord them the merit that is their due, that we fail to recognize their unswerving courage and devotion and patience to which we owe so much. We probably do, for time magnifies the successes, it hides the failures, it belittles the obstacles and trials successfully met and overcome. Indeed, looking back over the efforts of the founders of our country and with the knowledge that their efforts were crowned with success, we cannot appreciate the feelings of the patriots who threw off political bondage to Great Britain or the test to which their courage was put when they embarked on an unknown sea fraught with unknown dangers. We, seeing how those dangers were avoided, cannot well measure the trials of those who had to blaze the way. We cannot look at things in the same light as those men who had to act when a misstep, a failure to succeed, meant their undoing, meant exile or the hangman's noose.

TO THIS city, into the shadow of Independence Hall, where one hundred and twenty-one years ago the struggle with Great Britain was declared to be one for independence and uncompromisable, the Honorable Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware, late minister to the Court of St. James, as un-American a minister as we ever sent to a foreign court, was called to make the patriotic address commemorative of the nation's birth. He made use of the occasion commemorative of independence from British rule to announce his fealty to British policies, to decry independence of British dictation in the building of our industrial and fiscal policies. It was hardly the use to make of the day, it was hardly the way to fan the flames of patriotism, unless, indeed, his address of subserviency to Great Britain should have a reactionary effect.

Mr. Bayard was also out of accord with his surroundings when he spoke of a growing friendship between the British and American peoples and the disappearance of enmity. Such friendship does not exist. Mr. Bayard announced with all emphasis that the British people harbored no ill-feelings against the American, that they had ever shown during his residency in London the best of good will. Doubtless he found it so, as ever will the American who puts British interests before American. Such an American, American in name but alien in ideas, will ever be dined and petted and flattered by those whose interests he would serve. But we fancy the American minister who stood for American interests, not British, would not be so hospitably received at

the Court of St. James. We send a Bayard who is resolved to do all in his power to fasten on our people a financial policy that requires the American debtor to pay two dollars to the British creditor for every dollar borrowed, and he is received with open arms, we send an American who stands in the path of the creditor intent on squeezing double value from the debtor and we opine that he would be accorded a very different reception. In short, so long as we run our great country so as to impoverish ourselves and enrich our British creditors, the British people, that is, the governing classes in Great Britain, the denizens of Lombard and Threadneedle streets, will be our good friends. Let us run our country so as to protect the interests of our own people, so as to release our debtors from the unjust tribute to the British creditor classes placed upon them by the appreciating gold standard, and this costly friendship will vanish.

AND this purchased friendship of the British creditor classes for America is reciprocated by the corresponding classes in America, by those in America who accumulate wealth by preying upon the wealth of others, not by production. It is reciprocated by no one else. It was this class that condemned the stand taken by Mr. Cleveland in the Venezuelan boundary dispute, friends of Mr. Cleveland as they were. It is this class, ever ready to subordinate its skin-deep patriotism for the pocket, to sacrifice the national honor for wealth, that can be counted as friendly to Great Britain.

The American people, as a whole, have no friendship for Britain, their feeling towards Great Britain is one of enmity not of love. There is nothing to be gained by disguising the fact. We are a peace loving nation, we harbor ill-will for no country but one, and that one is Great Britain. And this enmity is not born of passion, it is not unreasoning. But one nation has wronged us, striven to retard our growth, and for that nation we have not, cannot have friendship, at least not while she stands politically, industrially or financially in the way of our national growth. Of what England does we are jealous, we are sensitive of the criticisms of her people. To the criticisms, the opinions of other peoples, we are profoundly indifferent. Should we become embroiled in strife with Spain, our people would not be greatly moved, they would throw into the war no enmity. But let trouble come with England and our people would be deeply moved, they would enter into it with enthusiasm. It is undeniable that, should the occasion arise, a war with Great Britain would be popular, popular as no other war would be. To fight such a war ten men would volunteer where one would volunteer to fight any other foreign foe. Men would vie with one another to enlist for such a war. They would do so because they feel that Britain has not treated us fairly and they would seize the opportunity to repay old scores.

This feeling of enmity is not carried so far as to make us desirous of picking a quarrel, for we are a justice-loving people, that is, those of us who are not given to preying upon the wealth of others. But the feeling of our people towards Great Britain is such that they would be quicker to resent encroachments of Britain than the encroachments of any other people. They would do so because they look upon Britain as our hereditary foe, ever on the outlook to secure some advantage over us. They look upon no other nation with the same distrust.

It is, then, but a travesty on truth to assert that the American people have a warm friendship for Great Britain, for they harbor a warm enmity. And why this enmity? We have said that it is not unreasoning, not the enmity of passion, or prejudice. Yet it has been handed down from generation to generation until we have come to look upon Britain as our hereditary enemy. And this smacks of an enmity born of prejudice, and prejudice undoubtedly enters into the make-up of our enmity towards Great Britain. But that prejudice would not have suf-

ficed to keep alive the passion if causes of irritability had not been added from year to year. While our forefathers owned allegiance to Great Britain they were not treated fairly. England at that time regarded her colonies as feeders, held that they should be governed so as to turn the earnings of the colonists into the coffers, not so much of the British Government, as of the British commercial classes. So laws were made for the restriction of trade and industry, laws forbidding the colonists to manufacture for their own needs, and obliging them to fill their wants through British merchants. Thus was it sought to levy a tribute on the colonists for the enjoyment of the British commercial classes. With the growth of the colonies and the continuance of this intolerable bondage came revolt, came a severing of political ties, and the severing of political ties through blood is calculated to excite bitter enmity.

So our Republic was born bearing no love but hate for its parent. And this enmity was stimulated by Britain's jealousy of our growth, by the overbearing attitude she took towards the young Republic, culminating in the search of American merchantmen, the kidnapping of the men of assumed British citizenship found among the crews for enlistment in the British navy, and finally the war of 1812. And that war was not waged by Great Britain with any great regard for the laws of humane warfare. The burning of the Capitol at Washington and of our national library long rankled in American breasts, as did other excesses of the British arms. For example, they made a raid on Jefferson's place, Monticello; they drove off his brood mares, and then in pure wantonness killed his colts. Such wantonness served no purpose other than to build up bitterness. The war of 1812 ended not without honor and success to the American arms, and in such success, as in the humiliating of the British arms in the Revolutionary War, the American people take pride. It is a pride engendered by our school histories, which almost one and all teach the rising generations to look upon Britain as our hereditary enemy.

FINALLY, we come down to the great trial of the Republic, the Civil War, and Britain did her best to sever the Union. She rendered assistance to the South, she upheld slavery because she wanted cheap cotton, the product of slave labor; she would have actively taken sides with the South if she had not been constrained to take a position of neutrality by the position taken by the most autocratic government in Europe, Russia. The Emperor of all the Russias, Alexander II., feared England, for England stood in the way of the attainment of Russia's desires, he saw there was only one nation that could aid him to curb Britain's power, that that nation was the United States, which would be powerless if divided. He wanted to see the power of the United States grow as a check to British supremacy, and so he caused it to be known that if England took sides with the South, Russia would side with the North. And so Britain remained nominally neutral. But the effort of Great Britain to disrupt the Union served to fan the fires of enmity. And since the war what has Britain done? She has left us alone politically, but while constrained by failure to do us justice on this side she has striven to reduce us to industrial and financial bondage. Thus we have continuous cause for regarding Britain, or rather a certain class, and Britain's ruling class, as our enemy.

And on top of all this, there is another deep cause for our enmity of England. England has wronged Ireland, and we harbor resentment for Ireland's wrongs. That our people should do so is natural, for Ireland is the motherland of a large minority of our people, and those who do not look to Ireland as their mother country, sympathize in great measure with those who do.

So much for our enmity towards Great Britain, an enmity that will last just so long as the money lenders rule Britain and use the British government to put the rest of mankind under

tribute to them. When this class ceases to rule Britain, and the ruling class of Britain no longer seeks to enrich itself by preying upon other peoples, ours among others, the way will be opened for a lasting friendship between Britain and America. It will not be opened before.

TO COME back to our Fourth of July celebrations which have made the text for this digression into the relations of amity, or rather enmity, between the British and American peoples, we have one more word with Mr. Bayard, who rung into his address delivered on a patriotic occasion and when his whole surroundings savored of independence of Great Britain, a plea for subserviency to a financial policy dictated in the interest of the creditor classes of Great Britain. It was a fitting climax to an un-American address delivered by an un-American man. And yet with his epigrammatic sentences bearing on our currency we can agree. Only we put a vastly different meaning upon them than that intended by the orator.

"A derangement of the currency of a country," said Mr. Bayard, "is like unto a poisoning of the life flood of a man, and no greater danger can await us." Verily it is just this that we suffer from, the danger is with us, we do not await it. Our currency is deranged, we have been occupied with deranging it for the past quarter of a century and have finally succeeded in getting a dollar that robs debtors, that makes men pay their debts in dollars more valuable than the dollars borrowed.

"A disordered currency," continued Mr. Bayard, "will confuse and demoralize every transaction of life, great and small, from the payment of the daily wages of labor to the financial arrangements to carry out the vastest enterprises. . . . To embark the business and contracts of a country upon a currency which is not firmly anchored upon a stable standard and measure of value is to insure ruin and disaster to every member of society." And this is just what we have done. We have embarked the business of the country on a currency which is not anchored to a stable standard but to the appreciating gold standard. Consequently men fear to borrow to increase production, for they know not how dear the dollar will be when the time comes around for the repayment of the loan. So it is that business stagnates for capital does not flow into the channels of production and we have ruin and disaster for every member of society.

UP IN New York State we hear from another Independence Day orator speaking somewhat after the strain of Mr. Bayard. That orator is ex-Senator Hill. Don't follow cranks and blatherskites and political adventurers, but get to work is his advice. This is all very good advice when standing out by itself. But when we follow Mr. Hill and come to find that he classes everyone who asks for remedial legislation, for a change of law, be it of whatever kind, as a crank, as a blatherskite, we draw back in surprise. Mr. Hill's idea seems to be that the passing of laws cannot make times better. But if bad laws can make times bad, disturb business, upset trade, destroy confidence and lead to industrial stagnation, and Mr. Hill admits this, for it is to the fear of the enactment of what he regards as bad laws that he attributes our ills, the replacing of bad laws with good laws can certainly make times better.

It is unquestionably true that the less law and the fewer changes in law that we can get along with the better. But to attain happiness, to secure justice, we must have sufficient law, the hand of the Government must be sufficiently felt in defense of the weak so as to secure all men in the enjoyment of the fruits of their toil. The Government that does not make such laws is a failure. And such laws we have not at this time. We have a superfluity of laws, but a great part of them are not such as are calculated to protect the weak and secure an equitable distribution of the products of labor, but such as are calculated to

strengthen the hands of those who are enriching themselves by despoiling others of the fruits of their toil. Such laws we have in our financial system, laws which work to the enhancement of the dollar and thus enable the creditor to exact a tribute from the debtor, such laws we have in our tariff system, laws which have been made the shelter of trusts and combines organized to repress competition, raise prices and exact a tribute from consumers. Of such laws we surely do not want more. Neither do we want to keep what we have for they retard industrial activity. We cannot bring prosperity by leaving such laws on our statute books, for there can be no prosperity when men are not protected in the enjoyment of the fruits of their toil. To bring prosperity we must repeal the laws that work injustice and substitute such laws, extend the powers of Government, as far as may be needed to secure the weaker members of society from aggression on the part of the stronger. It is folly to condemn agitation as hindering the return of prosperity, for it is only by agitation that we can discover the cause of our troubles and bring about the remedy that will pave the way for the return of good times.

It is suggestive that ex-Senator Hill should bring all Republicans who are engaged in passing a tariff law "inculcated with the idea that men can become rich without effort by the mere fiat of the Government" as well as all Democrats who believe in free silver, under his definition of cranks and blatherskites. We fear that there are few sane men to keep Mr. Hill company. And under his definition of sanity we doubt whether he is sane himself.

THE Republicans seem to be in a sea of uncertainty as to whether or no their tariff measure will raise a sufficiency of revenue. Yet they are so sick and tired of tariff building, of tariff building so as to protect the trusts yet not outrage their constituents that they seem to be quite ready to let the tariff bill pass with all its uncertainty. This seemed to be the ruling idea with the Republican leaders in the Senate when putting the tariff in shape for the final vote. Their one purpose seemed to be to get it into conference without regard to the question of revenue.

Two things make the estimation of probable customs receipts under the new tariff most uncertain. First, there is to be considered the effect of raising duties on the volume of imports. In the second place, the effect of the passage of the bill on business in general, and on the consumption of goods, must be weighed. Many of the duties that are raised, are raised with the avowed purpose of checking imports. Such raising of duties must, if the aim of raising them is fulfilled, reduce revenues. But, on the other hand, it is urged that the raising of the duties that are raised with a view to extending protection will lead to increased industrial activity and that this will be followed by increased consumption and increased importations of other dutiable products, thus leading indirectly to an increase of revenues. And on an increase of revenues growing out of a return of prosperity and enlarged consumption of foreign products, the Republican managers seem to place much reliance.

But in this we fancy they will be disappointed. It is hard to see how the passage of the new tariff bill can bring prosperity, for the raising of tariff duties so as to check foreign imports of manufactured goods cannot bring the longed-for industrial activity. It cannot, for the reason that manufacturing depression has arisen in great part out of the falling off in the consumption of manufactured goods. Alongside of the curtailed demand for the products of our mills growing out of diminished consumption, the falling off in demand occasioned by the inroad of foreign goods and the giving of orders for goods to foreign makers that under the proposed higher tariff rates might be presumed to come to our own manufacturers, is infinitesimal. And it is this comparatively small falling off in demand for the goods

of our own mills, due to increased importations under the Wilson tariff, that can alone be affected by a raising of tariff rates. The greater part of the falling off, due to the impoverishment of our farmers and their lessened purchasing power, can in no way be affected, for it is the fall in prices for agricultural products, a fall brought about by the severity of competition in the European markets that has impoverished our farmers. Therefore, though we may cut down the importations of manufactured goods by raising tariff rates, we cannot make orders for our own mills such as will bring industrial activity, for it is the impoverishment of our farmers, not foreign importations, that has occasioned the greatest falling off in orders. So industrial activity will not follow the enactment of the new tariff, and there will not come the expected increase of revenues from increased importations of so-called non-competitive dutiable products, the importation of which it is not sought to prohibit, for our people, not enjoying restored prosperity and not having the means to pay for increased importations, such increase of importations will not be made.

It is true that the Dingley bill, as it passed the House, would have yielded, on a basis of the importations during the years of the McKinley tariff, a sufficiency of revenue. So also would the Senate bill, on a basis of such a volume of imports, yield a sufficiency of revenue. But there is no assurance of such a volume of importations in the immediate future. Indeed, there is an absolute certainty that imports will not reach such volume for a year or two at least.

The reasons for expecting a diminished volume of imports for the present year as compared with the years under the McKinley tariff are two. First, the impoverishment and diminished purchasing power of our people, occasioned primarily by the rapid fall in silver since the closing of the Indian mints to free silver coinage and our repeal of the Sherman act and the accompanying fall of agricultural prices. Thus it is that we find the value of imports falling from \$844,000,000, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, to \$731,000,000 for 1895, to \$759,000,000 for 1896, and an even smaller amount for the year just ended, although importations of the past few months have been largely increased over the normal in anticipation of the raising of tariff rates. And it is this increase of importations in anticipation of the raising of duties that forms the second reason for belief that imports during the coming year will be small.

So it is that there is every expectation that the new tariff bill will fail to yield sufficient revenue during the first year of its operation. The expectation that it will yield a sufficiency of revenues thereafter is based on the hope that imports will increase. They are far more likely to decrease, for at present prices for farm products our farmers, taken as a whole, cannot make farming pay, they must inevitably grow poorer year after year, and having less to spend, buy less and less of imported products. And there is no prospect of our farmers' getting better prices for their crops until we change our financial laws.

As to the immediate future and the prospects of revenue during the first year that the new tariff will be in force, we can gather some insight by taking a glance backward over the past few months. On March 15th last, when Mr. Dingley presented his tariff measure to the House, there was a deficiency in revenues of almost \$50,000,000 and the prospect of its growing to more than \$60,000,000 before the close of the fiscal year. But the introduction of the Dingley tariff was the signal for the beginning of large importations in anticipation of its passage. Not only articles that were transferred from the free to the dutiable list, but articles on which the rates of duty were raised by the bill were imported largely. And this increase at once made itself felt in customs receipts. As a result of these extraordinary

importations and payments the deficit, instead of increasing \$10,000,000 or so before the end of the fiscal year, and as indicated by the rate at which receipts and expenditures were running prior to the middle of March, was decreased by \$31,000,000, so that the deficit stood at the close of the fiscal year, June 30th last, at \$18,623,108.

Thus it appears that something like \$40,000,000 of revenue has been collected on importations made in anticipation of the enactment of the new tariff. And as the rates of duty provided for by the new act are higher than those of the old, and as some articles, notably wool, which have been imported largely in anticipation, paid no duty, but are made dutiable under the new act, it is fair to assume that these anticipatory importations have lessened the revenue yield of the new bill for the first year by something between \$50,000,000 and \$60,000,000. In other words, supposing the new act will yield a sufficiency of revenue after the first year, it will show a deficiency of \$50,000,000 for the first year.

However, as Mr. Gage says, the Treasury is amply able to take care of such a deficit, there being an available cash balance of \$140,000,000 over and above the gold reserve of \$100,000,000, a cash balance, adds Mr. Gage, that "can be used without doing any harm whatever in any direction." We should say that such use of the balance in the Treasury would do much good as it would afford the means of putting back in circulation \$50,000,000 of currency withdrawn from circulation, and hoarded by Mr. Cleveland's bond issues. We are pleased and a little surprised to find Secretary Gage view such reversal of Mr. Carlisle's policy of contraction by hoarding with apparent indifference.

WHEN Mr. Aldrich submitted the reframed Dingley tariff to the Senate he made the significant statement that as passed by the House it would fall short of meeting the needs of the Government by \$29,000,000. To provide against this deficiency which he said was to be expected because of the large importations made in anticipation of the enactment of a new tariff, and which would be of a temporary nature, he and his committee suggested an increased tax on beer of 50 cents a barrel, and a duty on tea of 10 cents a pound, both taxes to be collected prior to January 1, 1900, only. These taxes, he calculated, would yield an increased revenue of \$24,000,000. Additional taxes on tobacco were also proposed. Now we have the increased tax on beer and the duty on tea, to say nothing of the better part of the increased taxes on tobacco, abandoned. And so, on the estimates of Senator Aldrich, we have the bill falling short as a revenue measure.

This the Republicans feared when turning down the committee amendments for an increased tax on beer and a duty on tea, and so, at the last hour, they put forward a stamp tax on issues of bonds and stocks and on transfers of stocks, hoping thereby to make up in part, at least, for the revenue taxes counted upon by Mr. Aldrich to provide against a deficit, but discarded by his associates. What this stamp tax will amount to as a revenue measure no Republican has given sufficient application to the subject to ascertain. It is roughly estimated that it will yield six or eight millions of revenue. But when we consider that the tax on the original issue of \$2,000,000,000 of capital would be but a single million of dollars, that \$1,000,000 would pay the proposed tax on the transfer of \$5,000,000,000 worth of stock, and that the whole capital stock of our railroad companies is less than this latter sum, we are led to the conclusion that the given estimates of revenue from such a tax are much too large.

The tax has been assailed as a class tax and as inequitably distributing the burdens of taxation. Taken by itself it could be unquestionably regarded as such, for it would rest on the owners of corporate property alone, on property represented by the issue of stocks and bonds. But it is no more class taxation than a tax on sugar, which amounts to a per capita tax. And

when it is considered that most of our national taxes are of this kind and the burdens of national taxation distributed inequitably, bearing with disproportionate burden on the poor, who contribute man for man quite as much for the support of our national Government as the rich; a stamp tax, resting particularly on the investing public, can well be justified on the ground of equalizing burdens. True, it is a rough way of equalizing burdens and is far from an approach to a model system of taxation. We can never solve the question of taxation equitably and hence satisfactorily until we lay taxes on a basis of incomes. It is only when we lay taxes after such manner that every man will pay his just share of the burdens of taxation. And such taxes can be collected effectively and so that few can escape by fraudulent evasions.

THE stamp tax spoken of is defended as a tax on stock gambling, as a tax calculated to force the bucket shops out of existence. Such style of argument evidences how little our legislators know of the machinery of stock gambling and of the bucket shops. The bucket shop does not feel called upon to fill the orders of its customers; in short, it takes part in the gambling, and feeling the pulse of the speculative sentiment, a pulse that it can feel better than the individual speculator, generally comes out ahead in the gamble. As the bucket shop does not transfer the securities traded in by its customers, in fact, only buys and sells the securities gambled in at its option, the gamblers, indeed, rarely putting up the purchase price but merely a margin, a tax on stock transfers would in no way affect the bucket shops. Nor would such tax interfere with the mere gamblers on the stock exchanges. The greater part of the stocks bought and sold are not transferred. In the vast majority of transactions the certificates are not even passed from hand to hand, and no money is passed in making settlements further than the amount of the winnings or losings of the gambler. To facilitate this gamble we have the Stock Exchange Clearing Houses. Through their agency it is made possible for the stock speculator to sell say 1,000 shares of a certain stock to any number of brokers, buy an equal amount of the same stock and make the settlements without the transfer or even handling of a certificate. If the aim of the stamp tax is to stop stock gambling, it should be extended to clearings of stocks through the Stock Exchange Clearing Houses.

It is true that this tax irritates Wall street, as evidenced by Henry Clews' attacking it as a Populistic tax, which, considering that it is the product of a straight Republican, Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, is quite unfair to the Republicans, to whom should certainly accrue the credit or discredit of attaching this tax to the tariff bill. But Wall street, considering the favors it enjoys, has little to be irritated with. And the tax itself will rest as but a small burden on the speculators and their gamblings. Such burden as it imposes will rest largely on the investing public. A stamp tax could be made to rest on Wall street, but the proposed stamp tax will not.

BEFORE passing the tariff the Republicans in the Senate conscientiously stood by the trusts and voted down several anti-trust amendments. The measure is now consigned to the tender mercies of the Conference Committee of the two houses and will no doubt come out of that conference with radical changes. It is not at all certain that the Conference Committee will not add important amendments to the bill, for conference committees do not always adhere to the task of compromising differences between the two houses.

What the Conference Committee will do we must wait to see. Meanwhile the country is losing interest in the struggle over the bill. It awaits impatiently the promised revival of industry to follow its enactment, and it needs this revival

badly. That which the country feels is shut-down after shut-down, accentuated depression, not revival. It sees great strikes, and it sadly longs for the promised change. We have the great strike of the iron workers against a cut in wages, running up in some mills to an average of 28 per cent. Such is the prosperity which has fallen to the lot of the iron workers. And then we have the greater strike of the coal miners for higher wages, a strike to share in the prosperity of which we are told. That prosperity has not materialized. Senator Hanna, one of the coal operators, and confronted with the strike, admits it. He declares there is no prosperity, that there has come no revival and that until revival comes coal miners cannot expect an advance in wages. "Owing to existing conditions of business," says this promiser of prosperity, "no one can be expected to raise wages for the present in any line of business, and therefore the strikers have chosen a very unfortunate time to make their demands, whether the latter be reasonable or not. . . . When business does improve employers of labor can listen to the grievances of the employed. I do not see that they can be expected to do so before."

What does Mr. Hanna mean? We have a remembrance of hearing very often of late months from his lips that business is improving, that prosperity is at hand, that all industries have felt revival. Is Mr. Hanna now speaking to mislead his miners or is he telling them the truth? We opine that he now tells the truth impelled by self-interest to do so. When in the absence of this impelling force he spoke of revival he was bending himself to building a paper prosperity, a false prosperity that has returned to plague him. He may discover ere long that the building of a paper prosperity is calculated to injure not better the chances of revival.

THE chances of attaining bimetallism through an international agreement and the reports of success which our bimetallic commissioners are meeting abroad, reports which we believe to be groundless, are coming in for a considerable share of attention at the hands of the gold press. We believe that the sure and only way of attaining international bimetallism is for America to take the initiative. Let us take the initiative to restore bimetallism and the nations of Europe will be constrained to aid us in self-defence. They could not afford to let gold go to a premium in America and lay open their industries to such American competition as would be stimulated by a premium on gold, by the virtual payment of a bounty on all exports from the United States to gold-using countries.

TWENTY years ago the most experienced and influential of all the diplomatists at Constantinople, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe wrote this, after many years residence at the Porte. "The capacity of Mussulman Turkey for reforms may not be equal to its need of them, but it has always appeared to me sufficient for the introduction of a real and progressive improvement." Since this was written many large and radical reforms have been instituted, but it has been nobody's business to tell us about them. We noticed a few months ago one of the most striking indications of the genuineness and far-reaching nature of these developments, the fact that the Turkish ambassador to England is a Christian Greek, whose selection was entirely due to his record of successful administration as a legal reformer and educationist. It is because they have a more intimate knowledge of these great liberal advances in various directions that the Tsar and the other Powers display so much consideration for the Sultan in the matter of indemnity negotiations. Thirty years ago they would have mercilessly coerced him, but these last twenty years Turkey has so largely exchanged Oriental for European ideas and methods as to be entitled to considerate treatment.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE COAL STRIKE.

A MELANCHOLY spectacle is that afforded by the metropolitan papers in their treatment of the coal strike. For months these purveyors, or rather falsifiers of news, have served their readers with reports of resurrections, of trade revival, of all those things which are taken as evidence of coming prosperity. They have made much of the resumption of work in this mill and that, they have passed lightly over the more numerous shut-downs. They have opened their columns to reports of increased employment and advances in wages, they have minimized if not ignored the evidences of curtailed production, the throwing of mill and factory hands out of work through shut-downs more or less complete, and the cuts in wages ever following in the wake of enforced idleness. Further, we have been told of a growing demand for goods of all kinds, of advancing prices, told this in the face of a falling off in demand and a general and marked fall in prices. And with a growing demand for goods and advancing prices the inference that the profits of industrial undertakings have increased is quite justifiable.

Thus the metropolitan papers have done their best to instill into wage-earners the belief that their employers are enjoying increased and increasing profits. And if industry has become more profitable why should not wage-earners share in this increased profitability? If the employer has been made happy by an increase of profits, why should not the wage-earner be made happy by an increase of wages?

Such is the train of thought awakened by the studied misrepresentation of trade and industrial conditions on the part of our metropolitan press. And so has this press egged on the men it has wronged by a misrepresentation and a holding forth of false promises, to strike in defense of their rights, for it is surely the right of the wage-earner to share in any increased profitability of industry. He has borne his share of hard times along with his employer, he has suffered cuts in wages as his employer has suffered from a fall in profits, and this being so, he is of right entitled to enjoy, along with his employer, any revival, to participate in any increase of the profits of industry. So in painting a false picture of trade conditions, of industrial activity, the metropolitan press has egged on wage-earners to strike. And when the wage-earners it has wronged, whom it has egged on to demand an increase in wages at a time most inopportune, do strike, it turns upon them and showers curses upon the wage-earners for doing the very thing it led them into doing.

So we have it with the great coal strike now on. By cut after cut in wages and by reduction after reduction in time our coal miners have been brought, during the past few years, to a point where they can scarce earn enough to keep body and soul together. Able to earn but from 75 cents to a dollar a day when employed, and unable to find more than two or three days' work a week, the earnings of the coal miner have been reduced to a mere pittance.

It should be remarked that the coal miner is paid not by the day but by a scale based on the result of his labor. He gets so much for every ton of coal mined and so the rate of wages varies with the ability, strength and skill of the individual miners. But the comparative rate of wages is not altogether dependent on the degree of skill or the sustained application of the individual miners. It is, in great degree, dependent on the mines in which they are employed. In some mines the same amount of labor will yield more coal than in others. And so it may happen that the more skilled miner in a less favorably placed mine may not be able to earn as much as his less skilled brother in a more productive mine, more productive compared to the expenditure of labor.

These differences are roughly allowed for by dividing the coal yielding territory into different districts and fixing a different rate of pay for mining a ton of coal in each. Thus the

United Mine Workers' Association, now conducting the strike, demands that the scale of prices be advanced to 69 cents a ton in the Pittsburg district, 60 cents in Ohio, the same in Indiana and 55 cents in Illinois, a general advance of about 18 per cent. over the present scale. But this rough division of the coal bearing territory does not, of course, put workers in all mines on an equality as to earnings, for the production of mines as compared to the expenditure of labor varies not only in the different districts but considerably in the mines of the same districts.

So it is that one miner will earn in the same time more than another, and this difference is not to be attributed altogether to differences in skill or application. But all this aside, the best paid miner is not getting a sufficient wage to enable him to live in decency, let alone comfort. Cuts in wages and enforced idleness, which have come hand in hand with the depression of the past few years, have so reduced the average miner's income that he has been driven to desperation. And now when he is told by the metropolitan press that the depression which has accompanied, or rather brought about his loss of income, is rapidly passing away, he thinks it time that he should be given the opportunity to earn a better wage. And so the strike.

Yet this metropolitan press that has instigated the miners to embark in a struggle that we much fear is hopeless,—for the depression and the superfluity of labor seeking employment at the mines that has enabled the mine-owners to put down the scale of wages is not a thing of the past,—turns upon those whom it has beckoned on to their own defeat, belabors them for striking for the increase of pay that it has led them to believe they could obtain, spreads out the losses to the miners and the community that must attend the strike, and puts the blame for all these losses on the shoulders of the strikers. The blame belongs on the shoulders of the metropolitan press, the press engaged in putting a false color on trade conditions, in creating a paper prosperity. The responsibility for the strike and its attendant losses, the responsibility for what we fear will be a fruitless strike and the accompanying distress and suffering of the strikers, rests with the metropolitan press.

We do not blame the miners for striking; we wish them all success. If ever men had cause for striking the coal miners have that cause. We have only one regret for their action, and that is that the time taken for a strike is ill-judged. If conditions of employment were such as made out by the metropolitan press, the present would be an opportune time. But conditions are not such as they are made out to be; there is not enough work to go round; there are thousands of men seeking work to one employer seeking workmen, and that employer has but to announce his want of hands to be overwhelmed with applicants. Consequently, there are men to fill the places of the strikers, and even though they be men not skilled in coal mining, they are a factor greatly strengthening the position of the mine owners, for these idle men, seeking employment, are ready to stand the greater part of the loss while learning the trade. It is true these men are not on the field, have not the means of going where the employment awaits them, but the coal companies have it in their power to open recruiting stations in the cities, to go to the idle when the idle cannot come to them.

Then, too, in a condition where there is not half enough work for the miners already on the spot, where the miners are impoverished and without savings, and where their labor organizations are without funds, because of the inability of the members to keep up with their dues, and unable to render assistance, it must be most difficult to keep the lines of the strikers intact. So it is that we fear for the miners in their struggle. The prerequisite to a successful strike, namely, an ending of that condition of a congested labor market where there is an idle laborer seeking for the job of his more fortunate fellow, is wanting. When the coal companies have to face a scarcity of hands, and have to seek miners in order to keep up with orders, a rise in

wages, if not voluntarily conceded, can be attained by a strike, but when such conditions are reversed the successful strike must be the exception. And conditions are now reversed.

Yet, we repeat, if ever men had cause to strike, the coal miners of to-day have that cause. By cuts in the rate of pay and by enforced idleness, their wages have been so reduced as to bring them to extreme poverty. We lately had a report, made by an Investigating Committee of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, to the effect that the average earnings of the miners of Pennsylvania were in the neighborhood of but \$4 a week. In the coal fields of Illinois, the average weekly earnings of a miner are given at but \$2, out of which they are expected to pay rent and support their homes. That they must go hungry is plain. So they have been driven to desperation. Might as well starve striking for living wages as starve at grinding toil, is their feeling, and so their resort to a strike into which they have been spurred by the magnified reports of industrial revivals and minimized reports of industrial shut-downs catered up by the metropolitan press, reports that have given rise to false hopes.

We have spoken of the average wage of the Pennsylvania miner as but \$4 a week. But this is a greater wage than the average miner in reality receives. Added to his loss of income through wage cuts and enforced idleness, is the loss in the purchasing power of his scanty wage through the despicable practice of paying him his wage, not in money, but in orders on the company stores. And at these stores exorbitant prices, exorbitant as compared to prices ruling in other stores, are charged for supplies. And these exorbitant prices, the miner, paid in store orders, must pay, for his store orders, commonly pieces of metal calling for so many cents' worth of goods at the company stores, are absolutely worthless at all other stores. So we have, through this practice of payment in store orders, a virtual cut in the wages of miners below that nominally paid, and because of this practice all the more reason has the miner to strike for an increase of wages.

In the circular calling out the miners on strike, the National Executive Board of the United Mine Workers makes this significant assertion: "The signs of the times, as pointed out by the press and by the testimony of men versed in public affairs, are that business is reviving, that an upward tendency in prices of all commodities is apparent. In the general business revival and industrial improvement which is earnestly proclaimed we ought to share, and if we do not attempt to share we shall be false to ourselves and those dependent upon us."

And who, other than the heartless task-master, will gainsay this? Surely if there has been a revival in industry the wage-earner should share in it. The promised revival, the promised prosperity is surely not alone for the employer; it has been promised to the wage-earner no less than the employer. And so, now that we are told the promised prosperity is at hand, the coal miners insist on sharing in it. And if the promised prosperity is not at hand, if it has not come, he is not to be harshly judged for demanding to share in that which is a myth, yet which he has been told is a fact. Especially is it unjust for the metropolitan papers that have insisted on the presence of prosperity to so judge him. Yet they do judge him and condemn him, condemn him for demanding a share in that which does not exist, yet which they have told him does exist, condemn him for following their false teachings.

We speak of the miner demanding a share in that revival of prosperity which does not exist, but it is not to be inferred by this that he gets a fair share of that which does exist. He does not. He does not get a fair share of the results of his toil, toil exercised under the guidance of his employer. That employer is entitled to a reward for his guidance, entitled to a recompense for the incidental expenses of operating the mine and marketing the product, entitled to a fair return on the capital invested. That recompense, that reward, he takes in the shape of profits. And

it is unquestionable true that many coal operators, many mine owners have held up these profits, these rewards at the expense of the miners. They have been enabled to do so by the fact that more miners have sought work than there has been work for. Consequently the coal companies have been enabled to play one miner off against another and reduce the wages, and thus has the share of the wage-earner been diminished and the share of the coal company been relatively increased, though, in many instances, not actually, with the result that dividends have been decreased although the share of the product of the mines given to the wage-earner has been diminished.

So it happens that there is not a just distribution of the earnings of the mines between employer and miner. And the question is, how can this division be made more equitable? It will not be made more equitable because of a sense of equity, of a debt, of an obligation to the miner as a human being, for the employing coal company is, as ever a corporation must be, a soulless and heartless employer, an employer that will squeeze every possible penny out of the wage-earner. So the miners strike for an equitable division of earnings, an equitable division of the proceeds of mining as profits and wages. But can they attain this equitable division? If the coal companies must have their services, cannot fill their orders without employing them, they can; if the coal companies can dispense with the services of the strikers, can fill their places with other men, the strikers cannot succeed.

When that revival comes which will make employment for all men, that will lead to the disbandment of the army of the unemployed, the coal companies will not find men ready to jump at a job at starvation wages and they will be obliged to comply with the just demands of the miners. If that revival has come the present strike will succeed. If it has not come the strike will fail. If a revival has come the miners can share in it. If it has not come they cannot. Not only this, but they cannot secure an equitable share of that which they now produce until that revival comes. When it does come they can secure an equitable share of the old measure of earnings as well as a share of the new. If revival has come the coal strike is the part of wisdom, if it has not come the strike, however deserving of success may be the strikers, must be regarded as ill-judged.

And, we fear, it is ill-judged, but, we repeat, it is not the part of those who have told us that prosperity is at hand and who have had no patience with those who have failed to take their roseate view, to condemn the strike and strike-leaders who are but acting on the information or mis-information furnished by the press. Yet we have our metropolitan papers condemning the strike. Thus we have the *Philadelphia Inquirer* asserting that "the strike of the United Mine Workers comes at a most unfortunate time." And then it adds "the country is now in the first stages of an industrial revival which bids fair to equal any it ever enjoyed." If so, the time chosen for the strike is not unfortunate but most opportune. "Mills and factories," it continues, "have been firing up. The railroads increasing their tonnage and their receipts. Every branch of trade felt the good influence to some extent." If so, why should not the coal miners share in it, why should they not share in "an industrial revival which bids fair to equal any ever enjoyed." If it is not so, the papers that have heralded a false prosperity are responsible for an ill-judged and unfortunate strike. If it is so, if we have indeed entered on an era of unparalleled industrial activity, the strike is not ill-judged, not unfortunate; it is most opportune and fortunate, and can be opposed by only those who are content to see the laborer deprived of the fruits of his toil. For surely if revival has come, if the earnings of our mines are increasing, the miners, as well as the mine owners, are entitled to share in that increase.

Wrinkled purses make wrinkled faces.

STRIKES AND LABOR.

WE HAVE elsewhere referred at some length to the coal strike and shown that there is ample justification for such strike. Yet we have been constrained to point out that where there is a superfluity of labor, where there is not enough work to go around, where there is an army of unemployed ever seeking work, seeking to take work from the employed, ready to fill the places of men striking for higher pay or an amelioration of the conditions of employment, the chances of a strike being crowned with success must be ever slim.

That wages must fall when two wage-earners are constrained by scarcity of employment to seek the same job and that they will rise when two employers seek to secure the services of the same wage-earner, is an irrevocable law. So when work is slack the task undertaken by the labor union, namely to keep up wages and secure to the laborer an equitable share of the wealth produced, is one most difficult of fulfillment, for when work is slack, when there is not enough work for all, it is most difficult to keep the idle from bidding for the places of the employed, and when two men bid against one another for work it is impossible to keep up wages. The most that the labor union can do when employment is slack and there is not enough work to give full employment for all is to secure an equitable division, among all, of such work as there is, and thus prevent one man from bidding against his fellow. But in such a state, where wage-earners are desirous of more work, and where each sees his time, which is his wealth, going to waste, the temptation to the wage-earner to underbid his fellow is very great.

And such is the condition of the coal miners to-day who do not average more than two or three days' work a week. Obviously, the temptation among the strikers to break their ranks and go back to work under the promise of a full week's work, without any increase in the rate of wages, must be very great, for to get six days' work in the week instead of three is tantamount to a doubling of wages. But this can hardly be considered the greatest obstacle to the success of the strike, as great as it is. All miners are not enrolled in the ranks of organized labor, and there are many such seeking work. There is also the great army of unemployed ready to work at anything and for any wage. And these idle men, miners and others, stand around to take the places of the strikers. They constitute an ever present force threatening to take the places of the striking miners, to take the opportunity to earn a daily bread, that, meagre as it is, seems well worth working for to many of the unemployed. And in the presence of such a force, a force at the command of the mine owners, the mine owners are bold and confident, the strikers timid and distrustful. Consequently, the advantage morally and actually is all on the side of the mine owners. It is not alone the fact that there are idle men ready to take the place of the strikers at the bidding of the mine owners that weakens the strikers in their struggle for higher wages. The very knowledge that such is the case weakens the ranks of the strikers, causes them to hesitate to stop work, causes men to give credence to mere rumors of the filling of their places with new men, and is prone to lead the strikers to seek their old places in alarm before any serious effort is made to fill them. The very fear, that grows into a feeling of certainty, not ill founded, that such effort, whenever made, will be crowned with success, is enough to disrupt the ranks of the strikers and send them back to bid against one another for the opportunity of earning starvation wages.

This is a dismal picture for the wage earner. His position is indeed hopeless if the labor union cannot protect him, for against the aggressions of organized capital organized labor is the wage earners' strongest defense. And organized labor has failed to secure to the wage earner fair recompense for his toil; has failed, to a great degree, to protect him against the efforts of

employers to force down wages; failed as it ever must when production is curtailed, when work is slack and men are thrown into enforced idleness to bid for the places of those employed. But organized labor has not exhausted its resources. Though the strike may be impotent, of no avail, the labor union is not powerless to render assistance. It can render assistance, and effective assistance; it can defend the wage earner in his rights if it goes about it the right way.

It is very true that many strikes have been made and ended in failure, that many efforts to resist cuts in wages, to ameliorate the condition of the wage-earning classes, have failed—failed because employers have been able to fill the places of the strikers with new men. And, we repeat, so long as employers are thus able to fill places vacated by strikers with new men, the strike will avail the wage earner but little. It is true that the trouble and difficulty of drilling new men to fill the places of men familiar, by long occupation, with the requirements and duties of their respective tasks, will ever be an inducement to employers to keep their hands, ever incline them to take back strikers in preference to filling their places with new men. But where the strike is long drawn out, where the strikers stand out steadfastly for better wages and bitter feeling is engendered, this inclination on the part of employers will be overborne; they will seek new hands, give them a preference over their old, and where successful in securing new hands—and they cannot fail to be successful while there is a great army of unemployed—the strike must fail.

So when work is slack, when two wage earners are seeking for the same job, it is apparent that the labor union, though not powerless, must be greatly restrained in its efforts to protect the wage earner. But though the labor union cannot hope to raise wages when there is a wage earner outside of the ranks of organized labor to fill the place of any member of the labor union going on strike, though the strike can avail the wage earner nothing under such conditions, save it be instituted to resist the rankest of injustice, so rank that public sympathy will be enlisted actively with the strikers, and the greater part of the unemployed will fear if not disdain to take the places of the strikers, the labor union is far from powerless to protect the wage earner.

The strike may fail to be crowned with success, it will almost surely fail of success when employment is slack, but the failure of the strike should not cast down wage earners, should not cause them to lose faith in the power of organized labor to protect them. Through organization they can protect themselves, but they must direct the power of organization thoughtfully and so as to remove the obstacles to the betterment of their condition. And those obstacles are now curtailed production, a lack of employment, a cut-throat competition among wage earners for work. Before the wage earner can secure happiness this must be reversed. Industrial activity must replace stagnation, ample opportunity for the application of labor must become the order of the day, competition among employers for wage earners must take the place of competition among laborers for work. And this the labor unions cannot bring about through strikes. It is the very absence of such conditions that defeats the ends of strikes. And though organized labor is powerless to bring about such conditions, powerless to effect such changes in the conditions of employment through the strike, it is not powerless to bring about such changes.

The strike is not the best defense of organized labor, it is not the strongest weapon that organized labor has for the attainment of its ends. That stronger weapon is the ballot-box, through which the policies of the nation can be directed, policies that grind upon the producers of wealth, diminish the profits of industry, cause curtailment in production and lead to competition among wage-earners for work reversed, and policies that will protect the producing classes in the enjoyment of the fruits of their toil, build up prosperity and make work for all insti-

tuted in their place. Yet, inexplicably, the labor unions have eschewed the use of this, their strongest weapon. We say inexplicably, for until organized labor does exert its power to such ends, the creation of conditions that will make possible to the wage-earner the attainment of the highest degree of happiness, wage-earners may expect to be preyed upon by those who make it their business to occupy the field the wage-earners leave bare, and who, of course, occupy it to their own enrichment and the detriment of the wage-earners.

The Government of our nation is now directed in the interest of the speculative cliques and to the infinite detriment of wage-earners in general, and of all those employers outside of the trusts. Yet it is the wage-earners who are responsible for this, who suffer our Government to be directed to the upbuilding of the speculative cliques and the down-pulling of themselves. They have the votes, the power, to take the direction out of the hands of the speculative cliques. If they do not exercise such power and are preyed upon by the speculative cliques, deprived of the fruits of their toil, ground down to the slavery of poverty, they have no one to blame but themselves. If wage-earners vote to throw fellow workmen out of employment, and they so vote when they vote to make industries unprofitable and close them down by voting what should be the profits of the employer as an increase of interest to the money-lender, they must expect to reap the consequences. If they vote to centralize industries in a few hands and build up trusts capable of exacting a tribute from them by depressing wages and raising prices, as they do when they vote to tolerate the continued management of our railroads by and for the cliques, who, by discrimination in freight rates, pull down and build up industries at will, pull down the independently conducted enterprises and build up the clique-ridden, wage earners must expect to suffer the penalty, to be made the slaves of poverty.

It should be evident to wage-earners that if we diminish the value of the product of an enterprise, the share of the product taken to meet fixed charges, must be increased, and if the share of the gross earnings taken by the money lender is increased, the share remaining to the employer and wage-earner must be diminished. And the wage-earner cannot expect to escape a cut in wages under such circumstances.

As surely as the employer suffers loss of profits the wage-earner will suffer curtailment of wages. The wage-earner may resist such reduction in wages, resist it with all the power of organized labor, but all that he can hope to do is to put off the reckoning, for employers of labor are not engaged in business for a pastime. They undertake the work, the responsibilities of management, for the profits, for the recompense for such work. Destroy those profits and the incentive to an enlargement of productive enterprises is gone. An incentive, a necessity to continue in operation those plants already in existence may, probably will remain after production ceases to be profitable, for interest charges and taxes run on whether a plant is in operation or not, and then, too, machinery will often deteriorate more rapidly in idleness than in use. Consequently, even when production ceases to yield a profit to the producer, he will, before stopping production, measure the losses of industry with the fixed charges on his plant. If the losses come to less than the fixed charges, it is clear he will be better off with his plant in operation than in idleness; in short, his savings will be eaten up less rapidly with his plant in operation, and he will continue production. But the time must come in the falling away of earnings when an idle mill will be less of a white elephant than one in operation, and then we will have cessation of production. And then wage-earners will be thrown out of work, and, sooner or later, be anxious to work at a lessened wage rate if by so doing the expenses of operation can be brought down so as to start up the idle mill.

But cuts in wages will be made long before this state is reached. At once with the wiping out of profits incentive to

increased production, to the enlarging of plants, the extension of facilities, the building of new mills and the buying of new machinery will be gone. And this will bring a curtailment of employment, make an ever increasing army seeking work. And so we will have created the condition precedent to cuts in wages, namely, two wage-earners bidding for the same job. As a result employers will be able to cut wages, and thus pass on to the wage-earners a part of the loss in profits occasioned by the taking, by the money lender, of an increased share of all that which is produced.

So, in figuring out that which must be detrimental to the wage-earner we must find that which increases the share of the money lender in the product of labor. And as the money-lender's share is fixed in terms of dollars it is clear that the dearer these dollars, that is, the fewer the number of dollars which it will take to measure the value of the whole product, the greater must be the share of the money-lender, and hence the smaller the share of the employer and wage-earner. For example, take an imaginary case where the value of the product is \$1000 and the fixed charges \$200. Evidently the share of the money-lender is 20 per cent. of the total product, and the share to be divided between employer and wage-earner 80 per cent. Let the dollar be doubled in purchasing power, that is prices, and hence the money value of the product cut in half and the share of the money-lender is still represented by \$200. But his share of the total product has none the less been doubled, increased from 20 to 40 per cent., while the share of the employer and wage-earner has been diminished from 80 to 60 per cent. So it is evident how the dear dollar increases the share of the money-lender in production and decreases the share of employer and wage-earner. And it is scarce money that makes dear money. Therefore, a contraction of money is detrimental to the wage-earner, maintenance of the gold standard means contraction, and so in voting for the gold standard the wage-earner is voting for contraction, voting for dear money, the undermining of profits, the curtailment of production and the throwing of himself or fellows into enforced idleness.

Clearly, the wage-earner has a great interest in the financial policy of the Government and the labor union should interest itself in that which so closely affects the opportunity for employment and the rate of wages. The labor union that does not do so is not doing its duty by its members. More can be effected by the organization of labor for political action so as to make itself felt in the direction of the policies of the Government than by the organization of labor for strikes.

Under present conditions of slack employment the strike is not the best defence, is not even an effective defence for the wage-earner. The strongest and the only effectual defence is to be found in political action and to make such action successful there must be organization even as there must be organization to inaugurate and press a strike to a successful issue.

To sum up, if wage-earners will not take steps to protect themselves no one else will and they can only protect themselves by political action. Therefore they must take political action in order to secure their rights, in order to secure the right to labor and the right to enjoy that which they produce.

And these rights can only be attained under a financial system that will give us an honest dollar, a dollar that will do justice between creditor and debtor, that will neither defraud one or rob the other, that will not subtly increase the share of the money lender in production at the expense of employer and wage-earner and therefore not undermine the profits of industry, stifle production and throw wage-earners into enforced idleness as the gold dollar does. They can only be attained under a transportation system that will serve all producers honestly and equitably, under which no man shall enjoy a preference over his fellows, a system under which no industry will be discriminated against in the matter of freight rates, no man placed at a disad-

vantage in competition because of the allowance of lower freight rates to his rivals and under which no industry may be driven out of existence, no man deprived of the fruits of his toil; they can only be attained under a system of taxation that will equitably distribute the burdens, that will put reliance in a tax on incomes and property not in revenue taxes which amount to per capita taxes resting as heavily upon the poor as upon the rich, upon the man without any property as the man with much; they can only be attained under a system that will drive trusts out of existence, that will encourage the accumulation of capital but will not tolerate the practices of over-capitalization and the gathering of wealth not by production but by preying upon the accumulations of others.

And to reach such a condition under which these rights, the right to labor and the right of each man to enjoy the products of his labor, may be attained, wage-earners must strive if they would preserve their independence. Further, they can attain these ends only by political action and the labor organizations cannot align themselves for political action too soon. It is more important for them to do so, for more will be gained, than it is for them to draw their lines in preparation for strikes, in preparation for strikes in defence of rights that never can be fully protected by strikes, by a suspension of work that must magnify the evil it is sought to eradicate, rights that can only be fully secured by political action.

THE AMERICAN PARTY.

WE are pleased to give space to the following comment on our suggestion for the formation of a new party to unite the lovers of equality and human rights, and thus make it possible to successfully oppose those who put the rights of property before the rights of man and would grind down the industrious to the slavery of poverty, that the few may reap what the many sow, and an oligarchy of wealth supplant democracy. We have suggested the formation of a new party believing the above ends sought after, ends dear to every lover of liberty and republican institutions, can only be attained by so doing.

Dissent.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN:

DEAR SIR:—Under the heading "The Old Parties and a New," in your issue of the 26th of June, you advocate a new party under the name of "American Party." As a reader of your valuable paper I must protest against this departure from the standpoint of a Democrat.

In my opinion the name and traditions of political organizations are essential to successful reforms in government, and I know of no better definition of a party by, of and for the people than that usually recognized and accepted by the term Democracy. It stands, first of all, for a representative form of government by all the people regardless of class, section, race or color lines. It stands for local self government; for the principle that majorities must rule in conventions, elections and legislatures; for individual, religious and political liberty; for freedom of speech and the press; for trial by jury; the right of the writ of habeas corpus; against unreasonable search of persons and their effects; for equal rights to all and special privileges to none; the supremacy of the civil over military authority; the independence of the three co-ordinate branches of government; in fact, for civil liberty in its broadest sense, and comes nearer being the embodiment of the Bill of Rights as interpreted in our Constitutional law, than any political doctrine or party yet devised under our free republican institutions. Its tenets are well understood to convey all that is precious and essential to a free people, and have been clearly defined by conventions, both political and constitutional, as well as by legislative and judicial assemblies from time immemorial. Its true meaning has not only been written down and expounded by lexicographers and philosophers, but its very essence has been absorbed by our citizens of communities, states and the nation. In other words, it has become

a household word, and is as inseparable from our historical growth and glory and the future progress of our country as the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution of the United States. It represents, in fact, one of the great political forces and principles upon which our Government is founded and maintained; the centrifugal force by which a central government is avoided and local self-government is made possible, as contradistinguished from the force of centralization as represented by the Republican party. Its doctrines as thus defined are broad enough and deep enough to embody every reform that may become necessary for a free people as new emergencies arise and as civilization advances. To part with the name of Democracy would be parting with a great deal of its substance as well as its forms, and would give rise to new constructions of party tenets and lead to endless confusion if not to hopeless disintegration of the political forces that now make up the rank and file of the Democratic party. Let us hold fast rather to that which is good and inaugurate reforms within old party lines, and there can be no better rallying ground than the Chicago platform of 1896 offers. The dissatisfied elements of the Republican party and the Populist party, in fact all people who hope to inaugurate purer and better government by means of the practical reforms, as outlined in that platform, will join hands and forces under the banner of Democracy in 1900 as they did in 1896 with almost the absolute assurance of success.

If this great declaration in the interest of popular Government which was the result of one of the greatest civic struggles of the century, is not worthy of the support of every true American who understands the trend of political events, what other platform would be? If the practical political reforms therein announced do not offer the way to political freedom of the people and a genuine reform of Government methods, what other platform would? It has passed through the trying ordeal of one of the most significant political upheavals, that this, or any other country has ever experienced, and has come out of the struggle stronger than ever, and so has its able and fearless defender who was nominated by that great party as its presidential candidate.

It would be suicidal policy, in my opinion, to change either in the next presidential election, and a public calamity to change the name of the party which called forth both the platform and the candidate; or to destroy the chance of electing a Democratic House of Representatives in the Fifty-sixth Congress, by resorting to untried political expedients. Political purity and reforms are a growth like everything else under the heavens, and must be brought about by evolution, not revolution in political methods. This is the duty, work and aim of Democracy, which points to the only path that leads to success, because its principles are founded in truth and justice, and are as indestructible as the idea of freedom itself, and when in the hands of its true advocates and defenders cannot fail to bring about the blessings of free Government, but not perfection. We must remember that while we place our ideals high we can only hope at best to work in the direction of them, and that in practical legislation and the administration of Government we can never attain all that we would desire.

The great bulwark of liberty, trial by jury, does not give entire satisfaction in its operation by any means, neither does the rule of majorities always operate in the interest of justice and equality, but both are recognized nevertheless as essential to free Government. So a tariff law will never be exactly equal and just in its operation, although it is the purpose of Democracy to make it so, as far as possible.

But I agree with you fully that the great causes for the growth of trusts have been the appreciation of gold and the fall in prices which make it impossible for producers to keep their heads above water, save by trusts to artificially keep up prices and also the discrimination in transportation charges in favor of clique enterprises, which again result in trusts by stifling competition, etc. I agree with you in a word that the battle cry of the future should be: Equality of opportunity, equality of burdens and equality of human rights! But why change the name of the party which stands by its platform for all this, by way of practical and feasible remedies which are capable of execution? Do not condemn it now since it has shaken off its dross and has entered the battle for human freedom in its regeneration, before its accession to power; rather come to its assistance and help uplift its banner and press to victory. You admit that Democracy took heed of the revulsion of feeling in 1896, and took a great step to put itself in accord with the principles of true democracy and fell but a little short of success in winning the election. Why give up the fight and retreat from the lines as drawn? Why dis-

organize and disband this splendid army in the face of the enemy? Is such a course wise, is it patriotic?

RUDOLPH KLEBERG,
(Member of Congress, Eleventh District, Texas).

Undecided.

"In a recent issue, THE AMERICAN, of Philadelphia, by Wharton Barker, contains some very sensible suggestions as to the formation of a new party, and while we reserve the expression of opinion as to his conclusions we cannot but commend the fairness of the criticisms made on all parties."—*The American Nonconformist*, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Approval.

Wharton Barker, Editor of THE AMERICAN:

DEAR SIR:—Allow me to congratulate you on your splendid article in THE AMERICAN of this week (June 26th), "The Old Parties and a New." I have read THE AMERICAN, which has been mailed to me since the extra session, with a great deal of pleasure. You are doing a good work, and you are doing it well.

C. A. BARLOW,
(Member of Congress, Sixth District, California).

From a Leading Populist Paper of Kansas.

Wharton Barker, through his splendid paper, THE AMERICAN, published at Philadelphia, is certainly doing great service in behalf of reform.

In a recent issue he carefully reviews the industrial, financial and political situation, and concludes that the best thing, if indeed it is not the only thing to be done is for all reformers to give up the party names by which they have hitherto been known and unite under the name of the "American Party," on the following short and comprehensive platform:

- 1.—Free coinage of gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.
- 2.—The issue of all paper money and the regulation of the volume thereof by the National Government.
- 3.—Government ownership of railroads and telegraphs.

This certainly includes three cardinal tenets of the Populists, and is undoubtedly approved by nine-tenths of all citizens opposed to the oligarchy that is now crushing the life out of the nation.

The *Kansan* is not stuck on a name—the "American Party" is all right.—*Pittsburg Kansan*, Pittsburg, Kansas.

WOMEN'S WAYS.

THERE are tomes of wise old sages,
There are books of science deep;
There are philosophic pages
Over which you fall asleep.
There are leaves of lore and stories,
There are poesies and rhymes,
There are legends of old glories,
And quaint tales of other times.

But all hope and faith eternal,
All philosophy and truth,
All romance and fancy vernal,
All the poetry of youth;
All the promise of the hour,
You may read it undefiled
In the pure heart of a flower,
In the clear eyes of a child.

—Abbie Farwell Brown.

Forever old, and forever new, is the story of motherhood. The most divine mission of woman is to transmit to her offspring the best that is in her nature. If there is "an inalienable right" due to a humble being, it is the right to be well born. And by being well born I mean being given a healthy, vigorous physical constitution in which a well balanced mind may be harmoniously developed. A woman who expects, or hopes, to be a good mother should begin to prepare for that estate as soon as she can understand the meaning of the word.

—Dr. Lucy Creemer Peckham.

Don't try to follow every fashion unless you wish to ruin your health, your happiness and your pocketbook.

She is an old woman, but her face is serene and peaceful, though trouble has not passed her by. She seems utterly above the little worries and vexations which torment the average woman and leave the lines of care for every one to read. The

Fretful Woman asked her one day for the secret of her happiness, and the beautiful old face shone as with a newly risen joy.

"My dear," she said, "I keep a Pleasure Book."

"A what?"

"A Pleasure Book. Long ago I learned that there was no day so dark and gloomy that it did not contain some ray of pleasure, and I have made it the business of my life to write down the little things which mean so much to a woman. I have a book for every year since I left school, and a place for every day. It is but a little thing; the new gown, the chat with a friend, the thoughtfulness of the husband, a flower, a book, a walk in the field, a letter, a concert or a drive: but it all goes into my Pleasure Book, and when I am inclined to fret I have only to read a few pages to see what a happy, blessed woman I am. You may see my treasures, if you will."

Slowly the peevish, discontented woman turned over the pages of the books the friend brought her, reading a little here and there. One day's entries ran thus: "Had a pleasant letter from mother. Saw a beautiful lily in a window. Found the pin I thought I had lost. Saw such a bright, happy girl on the street. Husband brought some roses in the evening."

Bits of verse and lines from her daily reading have gone into the Pleasure Book of this world-wise woman, until its pages are a storehouse of truth and beauty.

"Have you found a pleasure for every day?" the Fretful Woman asked.

"For every day," the low voice answered: "I had to make my theory come true, you know."

The Fretful Woman remembered that on one Christmas day the only son of her friend had been brought home dying. Half afraid, she turned to the page for December 25th. At the top was written: "He died with his hand in mine, and my name upon his lips."

Do not apologize for food at the table. An insincere apology is at once recognized as a bait for compliments, or if a dish needs apologizing for it had better either be omitted from the table or left to pass without notice.

Judging by modern fiction, the mother, as such, does not exist in English society, says *Munsey's Magazine*. The female parent is not extinct, but her attitude to her daughter seems to be that of business manager or advance agent rather than guardian angel.

The ambition which in the American mother might be labeled "My daughter's happiness," becomes, in the practical code of the British matron, "My daughter's establishment." One seldom picks up a novel of English society that one does not meet the scheming, lynx-eyed mamma, working diligently at the matrimonial grab-bag with one hand, while with the other she pushes forward her gentle little ladylike daughter, who is some day to be metamorphosed into a British mamma herself.

She shoos off the detrimental and gathers in the heir with unabashed frankness, asking intentions and bustling around very much like a steam tug at a launching. And when a party suitable in the matter of lands and family has finally been secured, she heaves a sigh of relief and prepares to do her duty by the next.

This picture is not merely the caricature of a few cynical novelists. Nearly all fiction that deals with social life in England shows the same figure, with more or less circumstantial evidence to prove that she is a reality rather than a carelessly accepted type.

To be sure, all the worldly and ambitious parents are not on that side of the water.

We have plenty of our own, but society gives them only a passive part to play, and the national dread of the ridiculous keeps them from open maneuvering.

The patriotism of the Swiss, their love of their country and of the heroes who have given their lives for it, are well known, but the little mountain nation is not usually accredited with the possession of any special sense of humor. In the small canton of Aargau, however, there is a yearly celebration which is not entirely devoid of this characteristic. Two centuries ago, during one of the religious wars that have so often rent the Alpine republic asunder, the Seigneur de Hallwyl raised a regiment of Amazons to assist some Bernese troops who were hard pressed by the Catholic cantons. In celebration of the incident the women of Aargau, on a certain day in the year, assume control

over their lords and masters. They issue invitations to the men, and provide entertainment for them at the village inns. The various features of our own leap year dances are strictly observed, no man daring to leave his place unless escorted by a woman, nor taking any refreshments unless served by a woman. At the close of the day the men are escorted to their homes by their chaperons.

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It has been found that in a million of husbands without children there were 470 suicides, and in the same number with children there were but 205. Of a million wives without children 157 committed suicide, as against 45 with children; widowers without children, 1,004; with children, 526; widows without children, 338; with children, but 104. These figures are eloquent pleaders in favor of family ties as conservators of life. They prove distinctly that man must love in order to live.

A CHAPTER ABOUT CHILDREN.

"A FELLOW'S mother," said Fred the wise,
With his rosy cheeks and his merry eyes,
"Knows what to do if a fellow gets hurt
By a thump, or a bruise, or a fall in the dirt.

"A fellow's mother has bags and strings,
Rags and buttons and lots of things;
No matter how busy she is, she'll stop
To see how well you can spin your top.

"She does not care—not much, I mean—
If a fellow's face is not quite clean;
And if your trousers are torn at the knee,
She can put in a patch that you'd never see.

"A fellow's mother is never mad,
And only sorry if you're bad:
And I'll tell you this, if you're only true,
She'll always forgive you, what e'er you do.

"I'm sure of this," said Fred the wise,
With a manly look in his laughing eyes,
"I'll mind my mother every day:
A fellow's a baby that won't obey."

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The illustrious John Randolph once said: "When I try to make myself an infidel, I fancy that I feel the hand of my mother on my head, and her voice sounding in my ear, as she taught me to say, 'Our Father, who art in heaven.'" No child ever started out in life a sceptic. The child believes everything told it until it has been deceived by parents and persons who fail to keep their promises. Infidelity begins in the family when the first lie is told, when the first promise is broken, and when deception is practiced by old heads.

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A pretty anecdote is related of a child who was greatly perturbed by the discovery that her brothers had set traps to catch birds. Questioned as to what she had done in the matter, she replied: "I prayed that the traps might not catch the birds." "Anything else?" "Yes," she said. "I then prayed that God would prevent the birds' getting into the traps," and, as if to illustrate the doctrine of faith and works, "I went and kicked the traps all to pieces."

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It is a mistake to believe that children can do as much work as grown people, and that the more they study the more they learn.

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Home influences may be immaculate, but evil communications will corrupt. Youth are influenced by one another more than by their elders. In sympathy there is enormous magnetic influence. The wise mother will silently watch associations. If practicable she will invite neighboring children to play with her own, and study their characters. Should she find them deficient in good table manners, or hear them using slang, or given to any form of depravity, she can tactfully notice any such lapse as a mistake, a forgetfulness on the part of the erring one and correct it kindly on the spot. If well done, no offence will be taken by their parents.

At all events, the association must be clarified or ended.

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The idea of teaching our children to find more satisfaction in their homes is a very good one. It recalls the little boy who

was asked what sort of home he liked; his response was: "The sort of home it's nice to go to." If our domestic arrangements encourage that result, we shall not be obliged to worry over the problem of keeping the boys and girls at home. This does not necessarily mean an undisciplined home; that is, usually, quite as uncomfortable for the children as for the parents. But a co-operative home, where the children feel that they, too, have rights and duties in securing the mutual happiness of the entire household, is "the sort of home it's nice to go to."

WORDS OF WISDOM.

WHENEVER I look in memory's glass—
What pictures there may be,
And view the doings of bygone days,
This one thing puzzles me:
Why the things and scenes I would most recall
Have vanished clear away;
While the times I have made a fool of myself
Are as fresh as yesterday?

—C. Thomas Duvall.

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It's no use moving, if you don't know what your move is;
you'd better by far keep still.

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And he gave it for his opinion, that whoever could make
two ears of corn, or two blades of grass, to grow upon a spot of
ground where only one grew before, would deserve better of
mankind and do more essential service to his country, than the
whole race of politicians put together.—Dean Swift.

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He that wins by wrong-doing is still a loser.

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Many a man works his way up from the bottom in order to
give his son a chance to play his way down.

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There are higher satisfactions than the mere getting of
money, and riches cannot compensate a man for the consciousness
of having lived a dishonorable and selfish life.

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There is but one straight course, and that is to seek truth
and pursue it steadily.

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If you throw mud you must expect your hands to get dirty.

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The charms of nature, the majesty of man, the infinite love-
liness of truth and virtue, are not hidden from the eyes of the
poor; but from the eye of the vain, the corrupted and self-seek-
ing, be he poor or rich. In old age, the humble minstrel, a
mendicant, and lord of nothing but his harp and his own free
soul, had intimations of those glories; while to the proud baron
in his barbaric halls they were unknown.—Thomas Carlyle.

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Elegance of language must give way to simplicity in preach-
ing sound doctrine.—Savonarola.

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Nerves that never relax, eyes that never flinch, thoughts
that never wander, are the harbingers of victory.

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The story goes that Charles Matthews, Theodore Hook and
Tom Hood were strolling one evening on the outskirts of London,
when Hook proposed a match as to whether he or Hood could
make the best joke on the spur of the moment, with Matthews
as umpire. "Done," said Hood. Scarcely were the words
spoken when they espied a sign-board, the owner of which,
wishing to advertise that he sold beer, had unluckily worded the
announcement "Bear sold here." "Oho," said Hook, "I sup-
pose that bear is his own Bruin." "Well done," cried Matthews,
"You'll have hard work to beat that, Tom." At that moment
they turned a sharp corner, and came in sight of a small, tumble-
down house standing in the midst of a wretched little plot of
worn and trampled grass, just in front of which was displayed a
huge board with the inscription, "Beware the dog." Hood
looked warily around him in all directions, and finding no dog
anywhere visible, picked up a broken piece of brick and scrib-
bled underneath the warning. "Ware be the dog?"

BOOK REVIEWS.

WOMAN AND THE REPUBLIC. By Helen Kendrick Johnson. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.

Irreverent opponents of the woman suffrage movement (males of course) used to speak of its earlier promoters as the shrieking sisterhood. The laborious lady who has wrought this flamboyant patchwork quilt to smother the cause once for all has also succeeded in altering that cap to fit herself and the band she leads. Her book is in some sort the Bible of a political Salvation Army, manned by women gifted with tongues that wag after the manner of Billingsgate, and valiant with the tambourine. With holy zeal they pursue the evil suffragists with denunciations that not only scatter the batter these poor women's righters have mistaken for brain, but tear out their hair by the roots to show the baldness of their pretensions. Orthodox theology has its little difficulties, but even its stern decrees recognize some midway plausance path that need not lead directly to destruction. This doxy is less liberal. From her eminence this infallible feminine Pope (male, Papa, female, Mama) decrees anathema against each and every plea and claim put forth by the misguided creatures of her own sex who have heretically exercised the right of private judgment in this matter, regardless of the right divine of Mama Johnson to rule them wrong. With all the formality of bell, book and candle she curses the woman suffrage advocates from head to toe, nothing they say is true, nothing they think is sound, everything they do is wrong, their principles "are those which turn individuals and nations backward and not forward," for which sufficient and convincing reason she turns them and their principles down. She declares that the suffrage movement is a movement to turn the home inside out and upside down, "it strikes a blow squarely at the home and the marriage relation," and, what is still more extraordinary, it wants to make "women independent of the present social order." Canon Sydney Smith recognized three sexes—men, women, and priests. So long as society consists of the two more important of these three elements it is not easy to guess how woman can make herself independent of the human order except by turning herself into a species of feathered angel and dwelling with the eagles. We have not heard this advocated on woman's rights platforms. Winged creatures of humble "social order" have fulfilled high destiny before now; the cackling of geese once saved a city. Even so may our great country yet be saved by the music of arguments like this, taken at a random opening of "Woman and the Republic," against the suffragists: "I deny the truthfulness of the accusation and denounce as an absurdity the bombastic demand. I resent the unwarranted insult . . . and the still more bitter modern representations of woman's condition and rights in this world, and especially in this Republic; they are simply false."

Happily for domestic peace it is possible for husband and wife to differ upon this question without the wholesale smashing of crockery indulged in by this book. Mannish women and womanish men are found on both sides, battling vigorously enough to have given equal delight and edification to audience-jurors who have followed the battle some thirty years on each side of the Atlantic, yet we recall no such sustained tirade of ill-tempered nagging by the one party or the other as this. Logically, it is hard to deny the full rights and privileges of citizenship to women as women. Still more odious is it to attempt a defence of a system which entrusts the nation's interests to illiterates and reprobates in breeches, while excluding the cultured and virtuous patriot in petticoats. If we governed the world, or our individual selves, by logic, these anomalies would not play the mischief with our fine theories, constitutions, decalogues and declarations. Fortunately for the whole of us we are born neither free or equal, but in swaddling cloths which vexatiously diversify our reaches after equality and send us scampering in pursuit of happiness along devious tracks with unhappiest stumblings. We get damaging bruises on our precious bumps of wisdom and self-approbation. Still, there is pretty sure to be gumption enough left to make us tolerant of our comrades' gropings after the ideal. It is the old wrestling-match between right and expediency. Let the fanatical quarrel as much as makes them happy, the illogical sons of peace and progress will practice the expediency of admitting that everybody is right, more or less, and wrong, less or more. If our pint-pot cranium cannot hold your half-gallon intellect, why rage like the heathen and gnash our teeth at each other? There is always the inner light solace from modest consciousness that a teaspoon may hold the essential qualities of a whole ox. Anyway, it is too late

in the day for the assumption of *ex cathedra* airs on any open question. And it is bad art, literary and controversial, to go on killing the adversary after he is well dead. Onlookers cannot help distrusting the victor's brag about his first fatal blow. Mrs. Johnson's inflated compilation recalls the small girl's diversion of twirling around to puff out her skirts to look like a balloon when she suddenly squats. The effect is imposing, in more senses than one. We are invited to survey the world from pole to pole, from China to Peru, and behold how the boasted Woman Suffrage movement, which for fifty years has blackened the firmament with its smoky fog, now dissolves into thin air at the waving of the Johnsonian wand. She summarizes her achievement in the last pages thus: in chapter one, "I have given it as my opinion . . . I have spoken . . . I have pointed out . . . I have appealed," to the effect that the movement is out of harmony with progress. In chapter two, we learn that "the dogma" is "at war with true democratic principles, and is allied with despotism, monarchy, ecclesiastical oppression, and with the powers of license and misrule." In chapter three the lady is more gracious; "I attempt to prove . . . I try to refute," the upshot being her pronouncement in favor of regulated universal manhood suffrage as the natural and only safe basis of government. Chapter four demonstrates to the author's full satisfaction that the suffrage movement "was not patriotic during the war, but was a hindrance to emancipation and reform." Chapter five shows that the movement has had no effect on legislation; chapter six tells how it has done nothing to open trades to women, and that while its socialistic friends have been worthless, "safer and sounder organizations" have helped women. Chapters seven and eight teach us that the movement has hindered women in the professions and in education. Chapter nine "shows up" the alleged "Suffrage Woman's Bible," gotten out by a few extremists for other purposes, and which has been publicly repudiated by Miss Susan Anthony in the name of the association of which she is president. Chapter ten, discussing this question of sex, denies the possibility of woman fulfilling all the duties of citizenship, and in noticing the social evil it replies to the charge of unfairness to woman in the man-made code that "it is folly to deny that there is, in the nature of things, more excuse for men than for women." Chapter eleven attacks the movement as a cover for the free love crusade. It is a movement to undermine the home. "The marriage relation has been the most unsafe in the hands of the woman whose idea of equality either repudiates it outright or inveighs against its present status. From the revolutionary and infidel portion of France, from which it sprang, to the recently dead Oneida community, who but women who imbibed the doctrine that marriage was bondage have sustained the various forms of license which called itself freedom. Transcendentalism and Libertainism worked together, and both found women who could be fitted to the task of destroying the home." The closing paragraph, like a woman's postscript, contains the pith of all that goes before. These are its final sentences: "The greatest danger with which this land is threatened comes from the ignorant and persistent zeal of some of its women. They abuse the freedom under which they live, and to gain an impossible power would fain destroy the Government that alone can protect them. The majority of women have no sympathy with this movement, and in their enlightenment, and in the consistent wisdom of our men, lies our hope of defeating this unpatriotic, unintelligent and unjustifiable assault upon the integrity of the American Republic."

With so much that is admirable in substance and presentation it is a pity, and a surprise, that the able writer and industrious compiler could not persuade herself to discriminate in flinging broadcast her scoldings and innuendoes. With many of her arguments we have all been familiar for years; a large proportion of her facts, citations, and references to names are stale and unnecessarily cumbersome to the book. There is really no need to trot out one's school-day knowledge of the Greek and Roman republics, and not a little of the contemporary history of the world could profitably be spared. All kinds of newspaper statistics are pressed into service without any effort to dissect and arrange them comparatively, and there is no index. Crude figures mean anything or nothing, and crude facts can be made to lie and, what is worse, to suggest false impressions. Superficiality, or the tricky art of the ward politician, marks the author's silly parade of voting totals on the woman-suffrage question, and her equally shallow pitting of State against State as a criterion of moral and numerical superiority. New York and Massachusetts have indulged in a flying shot at the question, the majority being adverse to the woman's claim. Utah

and Wyoming favored it, which excites Mrs. Johnson to ask, triumphantly, "In which States have women made most progress and showed themselves most likely to understand their rights, privileges, and duties?" Gross totals have a rather intoxicating effect on Mrs. Johnson's philosophic mind, or it would probably have set her thinking as to what on earth numbers have to do with qualities. If Massachusetts, with its population of nearly 300 to the square mile, polls a small woman's vote, and Wyoming, with not more than 1 to the square mile, polls a large vote, what is the value of a supposed comparison which ignores all the conditions? Five good women in the West surely outweigh fifty inferior women in the East. We do not assume that westward the march of wisdom went to stay, but neither must Mrs. Johnson presume to hint that it lags East. With her heroic resolve to save the Republic from the ruin that awaits it when the Golden Calf is dethroned we cordially sympathize. If anything can terrify the wicked bimetallic host it must be a screech from the Amazon trumpeter of the shrieking sisterhood, and, in token of our sincerity in wishing to co-operate with the latest self-anointed saviour, we gladly lend her the advantage of our megaphone.

"During the late Presidential election the issues passed the boundary that separates party politics from patriotic faith. . . . When the test came, California voted for sound money against repudiation, for authority against anarchy, by a small majority, and threw its ballots heavily against woman suffrage. With the enthusiastic help of its women voters, Colorado gave its electoral voice 16 to 1 against sound money and sound Americanism. Which State can claim that its action rings truest to the stroke of honest metal in finance and in defence of national honor?" This feminine conundrum we frankly give up. So does its author, for no answer is given. There is too much "sound" and too little sense in the way it is stated to test the logic of this gem of Johnsonese; let us substitute other equally appropriate terms. "When the test came, California voted for wooden nutmegs against sawdust pumpkins, for catachresis against dogmatism, by a small majority, and, by a large one voted against earthquakes. Colorado sang a duet, soprano and tenor, in praise of a pair of honest scales and the 'sound' of its echo is growing. Which State most scientifically accounts for the milk in the cocoa-nut." Unconsciously Mrs. Johnson antagonizes her own position by showing herself to be the perfect type of omniscient female required at headquarters to save the Republic from—must we mention, *inter alia*—its muddle-pated, narrow-visaged saviours. Her book is an armory of second-hand weapons, some antiquated, some quite modern boomerangs, displayed to dazzle the crowd. Combatants on either side cannot but learn something by handling them, if only the reflection that a shrewd fighter would not expect to do much execution by hurling them all at once and trying to hit objects that are miles away from the battlefield.

THE PLACE OF DEATH IN EVOLUTION. By Newman Smyth, D.D., New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

This is the sort of book that will do good in the hands of church people to whom it should have particular value. It will certainly prove of great assistance and comfort to those who have been unable to reconcile the proof of evolution with the teachings of theology, for in it Dr. Smyth does much to bridge the seeming gulf between the teachings of science and the church, and to demonstrate that apparently irreconcilable differences are, in fact, often no more than creations of blind prejudice, or, where truth lies on both sides, of mutual misunderstandings. Truth cannot be cast aside permanently and will not be denied by fair minds, even when its acceptance necessitates modification of previous beliefs. The misunderstandings and contentions between theologians and biologists have been due, Dr. Smyth believes, chiefly to the different sides from which they have approached the same questions, both being right from their points of view but unable to see the truth as it stands out from the others' standpoint. This is shown by one of those apt illustrations which are so noticeable in the writings of Dr. Smyth, and through which he conveys his meaning so clearly and easily to the mind of his reader. Take the same piece of country, view it from two points, one the level, the other a high elevation, and see what different impressions are gained. Only in the bolder features is resemblance detected, in them only is the true story told, and these by their subordination in the panorama as a whole may be readily overlooked, when each view is seemingly of an entirely distinct scene. It is by taking up questions from both points of view— theological and scientific—showing wherein the

whole truth has not been grasped and how misconceptions and mutual misunderstandings have consequently arisen that Dr. Smyth strives to bring order and light out of a chaos of views and a mass of truths and half truths.

As would be expected, Dr. Smyth recognizes what must be clear to all thoughtful persons, that theological teaching cannot come to a standstill, rest on past achievements and refuse to advance, without losing its influence, and that if it is to hold and fulfill its grand purpose it must ever stand on firm ground, assimilate truth from whatever source, constantly advance and reform as the way becomes clear. "The next reconstruction of Christian theology will be a vital one; it will result from a deeper knowledge and a truer interpretation of the sacred Scripture of Life, which the hand of God has written in nature. The coming theologian, therefore, . . . will be a trained and accomplished biologist. Not only will his thought, descending from the heights of solitary abstraction, and forsaking the cloistered shades of the schoolmen, ancient and modern, proceed like the wayfaring Son of man along the familiar paths of human life, in closest touch with the common heart of humanity; but also each organic form will tell to him the story of its origins, and the least living cell will unveil the secret chambers of its divinity." But from this it must not be inferred that Dr. Smyth is a wolf in sheep's clothing, that his effort is to undermine the teachings of Christianity by pushing forward the truths of scientific discovery. Indeed, his work is from the side of theology, and in places savors much of the pulpit. What he does is to accept truth where he finds it, seeing that the intricate and beautiful workings of material nature are but proof of the presence of the directing hand of God, and believing that a knowledge and acceptance of this great fact are indispensable to true theological teaching.

This volume is devoted to death—its origin in life, its utility and importance as a factor in the gradual upward evolution of life, to its working, its meaning, and finally its ultimate aim and end. This is a large field and one which is full of difficulties. In his treatment of it the author is comprehensive; the study and thought he has given the subject are evident, and we are impressed with the nice balance of mind, the fairness, discrimination and logic with which he meets the various phases of it. The book is one which, even though it fails to satisfy all, and no doubt there will be many who cannot follow Dr. Smyth, is still one which deserves thoughtful consideration, not only for its conclusions, but particularly for the suggestiveness with which it is replete. Dr. Smyth can materially aid in bringing about that broadening and reform of theology and that generosity of thought in its teachers, which he sees to be so essential, and we look forward with a keen interest to the ultimate completion of the fuller work of which he advises us the present volume is but a part.

BRIEFER NOTICES.

ATHLETIC SPORTS. The Out of Door Library. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

This is one volume of a series of well-printed and illustrated books on health-giving sports and exercises. The articles in this are on the physique, by Dr. Sargent; Golf, by H. I. Whigham; Tennis, by R. D. Wrenn; Bicycling, by P. G. Hubert; Marguerite Merington, and Dr. Roosevelt; Sea Bathing, by Duffield Osborne, and Fox Hunting, by E. S. Martin. They are reprinted, after revision, from the magazine, and are a fair balance of technical information with easy reading. The author of the last chapter deems it necessary to apologize for the Anglomaniac look of his subject and the pictures. He wishes it known that "Americans do not hunt foxes or ride across country because it is done in England, but because the latter is far livelier and more interesting than riding on the road." As a fact, the photographs here engraved are so close an imitation of the English meets, even to the costumes and groupings, that they cannot be distinguished by any characteristic American feature. To this extent something more than an apology is called for, nothing short of a radical reform, a return to patriotic independence and individuality in small things as well as in great. The hunt itself is an ancient American institution, that of Media, near Philadelphia, and other clubs in Maryland and Virginia, being in their fiftieth year and more, but there was plenty of fox hunting in revolutionary times. One thing marks the difference between the

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UNCLE SCIPIO. By Jeanette H. Walworth. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. \$1.25.

The sub-title reads, "A story of uncertain days in the South." The war had broken up the old system and the new had not yet been established when old Scipio was induced to tell his story. If the reader can master the peculiarities of Virginia darky dialect, which spells white "w'te," he will find a very enjoyable picture of a memorable social epoch. Woven into it is the indispensable love story, but the main interest of the book is in its reproduction of the past.

ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

Nothing new under the sun. What some have taken to be quite a recent trick is here seen to have been familiar to our good old forefathers in the good old days. This is the device of exaggeration, by which the exaggerator hopes to increase his fame and market price. Thus, to take three instances known to the writer, an editor announces that his salary in the new place is \$10,000, when it is just one-half. The swollen figures are expected to swell the importance of the paper and the new man. An author permits it to go the rounds that his new book brought him a fabulous sum from his publishers. The palpable lie is supposed to make a tremendous greenhorn sale for their forthcoming book. A popular preacher sends it abroad in print that his church pays him \$15,000 a year, when, in fact, his salary, if successfully raised, is but \$10,000, the mythical balance being estimated on one lucky year's extras from weddings. But now to our text.

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Dr. Sherlock was an eminent divine of the latter half of last century, a literary man and the friend of Swift. His genius, as displayed in the letter of which the following is part, is worthy of the present generation of literary log-rollers:

"DEAR SIR,—I am sure you will be pleas'd when I inform you, my Lord Bishop of Killala has given me a living of £200 a year. I think it may be of use to our Sale to let the world know it in the Newspapers; and I am persuaded that doubling the value of the Living will make the books sell better. The world is very apt, God bless it, to value a man's writings according to his rank and fortune. I am sure they will think more highly of my Letters, if they believe I have £400 a year, than if they think I have only two. Pope, you know, says something like this:

A Saint in crape is twice a Saint in Lawn.

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"We hear that the Revd. Martin Sherlock, A.M., Domestic Chaplin to the Earl of Bristol, is collated by the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Killala to the united vicarages of Castleconnor and Kilglass, worth £400 a year."

"You will be so good as to put the expence down to my account," etc.

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We have our own eccentric divines with literary learnings. Courage, rather than eccentricity, inspired the recent prayer offered by the Rev. David G. Bradford, as chaplain of the Illinois House of Representatives. His fervent supplication went up in behalf of the poor, and the people at large over burdened with taxation, which impoverishes the virtuous tax-payer to enrich the greedy politician. He is entitled to figure in this column by virtue of the literary embellishments of his striking prayer. He continued thus: "Help these men to remember the poor tax-burdened people of this great state. Contract, we pray Thee, the capacious maw of the penal reformatory, charitable and educational institutions of Illinois. May they learn to be content with



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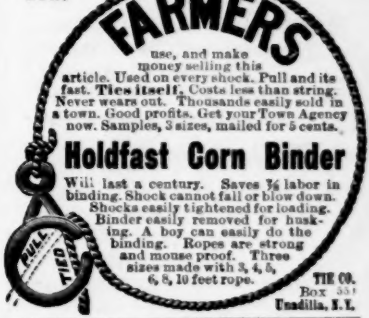
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Give us Money or else we die;
Oh, let the Money come!

and we will ever give Thee endless praise. Amen." The prayer was greeted, says the report, with enthusiastic applause. But did the speaker intend his own last clause to be part of the poem?

John Burroughs is one of our most masculine thinkers and writers. If he deifies Walt Whitman a bit fanatically, it is not as the vainglorious penner of lines that neither sing nor rhyme, but as a great voice sounding across the boundless prairie, vague but vast, and impressively mysterious. Burroughs has been writing about Literary Veneering. The shamming of emotions by versifiers is always seen to be unreal. He implies this in the case of Swinburne. "Usually the only thing revealed is art, or artifice, craftsmanship, as in Swinburne." "Poe almost justifies himself in The Raven. It means nothing, it is simply a conjuring with words and rhythmic effects, but there are glimpses of a strong spirit back of it."

He has this of Poe and Longfellow:

"A man like Poe is of the true poet type, undoubtedly, but his contribution is unimportant, because there was not enough of him; he does not cut deep. There is a mastery in him not in Longfellow, but Longfellow will outlive him because he was a winning, genial personality, and his works are sweet and wholesome. Poe's mastery is over the elements of verse, not over the elements of life or spirit. Shelley, Swinburne, Rossetti, and all of that ilk, do not fail as artists, but as men. They are more like veneer than solid stuff. Literary veneering—how much there is of it in the world, that looks like the thing it is not; religious veneering, also. How it pulls off when you put a little strain upon it. It will not stand use at all. It is for Sunday and good clothes. Stevenson had a great talent, a finer literary equipment than Scott, and yet Scott is the mountain, Stevenson is the grassy fell. Scott was a great nature; Stevenson, a fine nature. Are the men of the large type all gone—the race of giants ended? All the new men are "light-weights," wonderful craftsmen, but not great natures. The last of our giants, such as they were, died with Holmes."

Henry T. Coates & Co., Philadelphia, have in preparation about 140 volumes of classics of fiction, travel, biography, and poetry, to be published in a series entitled "The Laurel Library," the list-price of each volume being fixed at 75 cents. The volumes will be printed on good laid paper and will be simply but neatly bound in cloth.

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